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1920

by the Allied bourgeoisie, they have turned against the Bolsheviks and against the common cause. This alliance, which has had tremendous consequences for the internal political situation, could have seemed impossible six months ago. Only now can we remember the splendid isolation of the Bolsheviks who supported them throughout. The aid of the Allies was necessary to bring about this miraculous adhesion, which will certainly work for the safety of the Revolution. To be sure, this union seems to leave intact the differences of program. It has been brought about for the chief purpose of creating a compact front against the invader. But it creates also a habit of working in common which ought necessarily to bring a rapprochement of the anti-sovietists with sovietists, and indeed, leads them to make nearly all the manner of concessions. The partisans of the old regime alone abstain from this union—the men of the right and the cadets, that is to say, the disgraceful monarchists. . . .

The intellectuals group themselves more and more around the power of the Soviets. Maxim Gorky has rallied to it without reserve, at the head of professors, artists, poets, and celebrated writers; he works actively in the Bolshevik organizations. For long months already, the greater part of the official scientific institutions, notably the academy of Sciences, have collaborated, in the domain of their customary activity, with the government, which in its turn has outlined to them grandiose programs of statistics, of prospection and of putting to use the enormous productive riches of Russia. This formidable work is already very far advanced. It ought to be extremely beneficial for the future of the country. On the other hand, the Soviet power grants without question the credits which are asked for by the savants, who have never been treated to such a feast, and who, all politics aside, bless the heavens for having entrusted the destinies of Russia to these intelligent ministers. It is the same with the engineers, chemists and inventors, who by the thousands are devoting themselves both to questions of military technique and to questions of economic reorganization. The wish expressed by Lenin and Trotsky, ever since October 1917, has been realized: to the strong arms which have made the Revolution have been added now the brains which ought to assure its conquests. . . .

The internal work of organization is proceeding apace. The difficulties are enormous. The iron band of the Allies and the counter-revolutionists has not been slackened enough for Bolshevism to have at its disposal the foodstuffs, the fuel and raw material which it needs. But the effort continues with a prodigious tenacity. Success seems certain, and it would be attained rapidly if France, England, and the United States, finally renouncing their Russian policy of meddling in the internal affairs of the country, should bring to Russia the alimentary and economic help which she needs and which they hypocritically promise. But these as-

sassins think of nothing but of killing the Revolution.

The socialization of distribution, after that of production, is going on rapidly. The conduct of the industrial enterprises is far from being what it should be, alas! Lack of fuel, lack of raw materials (the mines and the principal centers of production, are out of Soviet hands), lack of working discipline. [*Since these lines were written, as the reader knows, many of these difficulties have disappeared, following the capture by the Soviets of the mining regions of the Ural.—Ed.*]

But it must not be forgotten that the Russian industry created by foreign capital and foreign technique bore up only under the support of specialists from the West, of directors, engineers, foremen, etc.—all from the West. And there was not one industrial enterprise of any importance that was not directed effectively by Englishmen, Frenchmen, and above all by Germans. The brusque disappearance of these foreign specialists (dispersed by the war and by the Revolution) has thrown Russian industry into a state of disorganization which the good will of the Russian specialists was not sufficient to obviate. I speak, it is understood, of those who did not practice sabotage. But it must be kept in mind that the saboteurs are more and more rare, and that the bourgeoisie, as well as the intelligentsia, has resigned itself little by little to serve a regime whose stability it is beginning to understand.

In default of foreign bourgeois specialists, it is necessary that French and German comrades come here, at the very earliest, in order to put into running order the economic machine, which cannot go on without them, no matter what government be in power, and which cannot do without them before there will be formed new groups of Russian specialists, truly capable of directing and administering—that is to say, before many years to come. . . .

Captain Sadoul then goes on to discuss the problem of the new bureaucracy under the Soviet regime, and how the problem was finally met through revolutionary discipline and the various peace proposals of the winter of 1918-19 with which the reader is doubtless familiar. At the time of Captain Sadoul's writing, the election returns showed that seventy per cent of the people were Sovietists, but by this time the number must have been considerably augmented. There never was any justification for the Allied refusal to negotiate with the Soviet regime on the ground that it was a government not representing the people.

If French soldiers continue to suffer in the Polar regions and risk receiving bullets when the war is terminated and they should be back at their fireside, the fault (*Capt. Sadoul goes on*) is not with the Soviet Government. I know that in his desire to have peace, cost what is may, Chicherin has proposed (I have had numerous conversations upon this subject with all the Soviet leaders, especially with Lenin) to the French Government to repeal the decree of the annulment of the debt and to regulate in the fashion most satisfactory to it, this question of interest to so many small holders in

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This issue contains, in addition to the regular 24 pages of text, an eight-page Legal Supplement, containing the full text of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Soviet Government.

The Power Behind the Red Gun

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

THE astonishing onward sweep of the Red Army of the Russian workers and peasants in Siberia, and in the "domain" of Denikin, has naturally startled the world and compelled the Allied governments to sit up and take notice. A friend of mine with whom I was traveling over the Siberian railroads, in the days of Kerensky, and in a "courier" train at that, called my attention to the fact that the Red Army was actually making much better time now than we were, and certainly had not as many stops, nor such long ones, as we were making. Indeed, it is not at all an offensive movement that the Red Armies are performing now in Siberia. It is a walkover.

Of course, it is because it is a red army that the Red Army is enabled to accomplish all these wonders. Another army, not so animated with one great idea, and not so heartened by the conviction that the Russian proletariat will eventually come out the victor over all the forces of the exploiters and speculators, could never thus succeed, and never has thus succeeded, in the history of mankind. But there is in Siberia another power that should have an equal share in the laurels of the Red Army. I refer to the little "red" so-called "guerilla" detachments, here, there, and everywhere in Siberia, all along the wide steppes, the thick forests, the long roads, the cities, big and small, the villages and hamlets of Siberia. I refer to the Siberian Bolsheviks, who never let their guns fall from their hands, and who have been constantly boring from within that decaying body, politic and civil, of the Allied darling, Kolchak. And I am convinced that were it not for the courageous and heroic Comrades in the rear of the Kolchakists, and their martyrdom, the Russian Red forces would have hardly

had that holiday jaunt over Siberia (and this is equally true in the case of Denikin and whatever their other names may be).

In SOVIET RUSSIA attention was called to this fact several times. The map of the guerilla warfare was published by SOVIET RUSSIA in its issue of October 18, and the numerous articles on this subject, have given at least a partial conception of what the small but powerful red detachments have achieved in Siberia. But since this was all compiled from Siberian newspapers, as it could not otherwise be, and since most of what was achieved in Siberia by these little brave forces was suppressed by Kolchak's and the Allied censors, we hardly know anything of what was really done there. Only the final victory over the black forces, that is being achieved now, will make it possible for us to delve into all the facts and know the full story. Only when Russia will free herself from her enemies, interior and exterior, and be in a mood to write the profuse history of her Revolution, will we have a real insight into the great work done by the "local reds," as they are frequently referred to by the Allied press, a work as magnificent as the great Revolution itself. And only then will we know how great were the sacrifices that these "local reds" have brought, and how many of them have perished in this colossal struggle for the happiness of the Russian masses. The liberal world knows fairly well today what Kolchak has done to his opponents, even of the lukewarm type of socialists, and it requires no stretch of imagination to understand how the Bolsheviks of Siberia have fared when they fell into the hands of the Allied fighter for "democracy" who now fights no more.

And I honestly believe that we should be paying

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POLAND, after having repeatedly expressed a lack of confidence in the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Government, now shows to what extent her own intentions are peaceful, and how necessary it has been for the Soviet Government to be on the watch against new Polish aggressions. The Associated Press correspondent "With the Polish Army at the Front" sends the following message, dated April 15, and printed in New York newspapers April 19:

In an active service flight today the Kosciusko squadron, the American air unit operating with the Polish forces, flew ninety miles behind the Bolshevik lines and raided the Jitomir railroad junction, southwest of Kiev.

The Americans flew low and attacked the railroad yards crowded with troop trains, dropping bombs and using their machine guns.

This is what has come of the dream of peace between the Russian Soviet Government and the "Polish Republic." And who is to blame, the Russian Soviet Government or the "Polish Republic"? And it was on April 10, Lenin's birthday, that peace negotiations between the two governments were begun!

ELSEWHERE, however, peace is gradually approaching realization. The treaty signed at Dorpat, nearly three months ago, by representatives of the Russian Soviet Government and the Government of Esthonia, is a full agreement between the two countries, covering all essential points of their international relations. Our readers will remember the full text of this treaty in our last issue, which we obtained by translation

from an Esthonian newspaper. While the signed copy of the treaty is a printed document with parallel pages in both languages (Russian and Esthonian), and while we therefore have every reason to believe that there are no errors in the translation printed by us last week, we shall not add the translation of the Esthonian Treaty to our "Soviet Russia Pamphlets" (see announcement elsewhere in this issue) before we have had an opportunity to compare the Esthonian text from which our translation was made, with the official Soviet Russian text, which we hope soon to have in our possession.

GREAT BRITAIN'S progress towards peace with Soviet Russia is more rapid than that of the other great powers, possibly because Great Britain's government recognizes the necessity of finding raw materials for the industries of that country, now very much under-supplied with raw materials. However, that may be, the treaty concerning the interchange of prisoners, reprinted in our last issue from the official British document, is an excellent introduction to the assumption of peaceful relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. When the Trade Commission, consisting of Krassin, Rozovsky and Nogin reaches Great Britain from Soviet Russia, we shall probably see the beginning of negotiations terminating in a complete trading relation between the two countries.

ITALY appears to have signed a similar treaty with Soviet Russia to the one lately terminated between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. We simply reprint, in part, the New York Times item (April 19) on the subject:

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 18.—An agreement has been reached between Maxim Litvinoff, on the part of the Russian Soviet Government, and Signor Bombacci, an Italian Socialist Deputy, for the repatriation of prisoners, both civil and military, according to a published Copenhagen telegram to the Messagero of Rome, according to authentic information reaching Washington today.

[A special dispatch to the New York Times from Milan, dated April 16, told of the conclusion of such an agreement.]

There have been unofficial intimations that the Italian Government is approaching a point where it will be ready to deal with, if not recognize, the Soviets of Russia, and the negotiations which have been in progress at Copenhagen are regarding as lending color to the reports. The Messagero says that the agreement between Litvinov and Bombacci has been accepted by the Italian Government, and that a representative will shortly be delegated to sign it, most probably by the Italian legation at Copenhagen. The Soviet authorities are understood to have delegated one Vodovosov to represent them in Italy.

The number of Russian prisoners in Italy is estimated at 5,000, while Italians in Russia, mostly civilians, are estimated at 400.

The terms of the agreement provide for the transportation of all Italians in Soviet territory, both civil and military, desirous to return to Italy, except con-

109,184 spindles and 4,432 looms; on the 15th of October 52 mills with 138,376 spindles and 5,710 looms were working. It is expected that many other mills will begin to operate in the near future.

The Russian wool-industry is far behind in its equipment in comparison with that of the cotton-stuff industry; it is similar to the flax industry in this respect. The lack of specialists with higher education in this line is most strongly felt at the present time. The main administrative body has succeeded in drawing persons with the necessary technical knowledge into only a few groups; then they tried to improve the equipment of the enterprises.

The summer intermission was not utilized to make the necessary preparations.

As to the stock of ready cloth and woolen goods there were on the first of September 6,788,160 arshins. According to the estimation of the main administration of textile enterprises all the mills for making heavy cloth which may be put into operation in the coming 6 months, will be able to produce during this period 2,394,000 arshins. The rest of the mills of this group, which are in a worse condition, will be able to manufacture about one million arshins when put into operation.

Twelve mills of fine cloth, well equipped, can manufacture in the coming 6 month, 2,620,000 arshins. 16 mills less well provided can put out 1,074,000 arshins and 13,800 poods of thread.

Among the 10 worsted and knitting mills of the better equipped type we find 9 mills need a monthly requirement of 34 thousand poods.

Of the 23 worsted and warping mills 16 are able to produce monthly 7,390,000 arshins if 3,430 looms are working.

In regard to the production of thread the conditions are as follows: according to the data of the chief administration there were on October 1st 77,733 machines. The administration tried to take the necessary measures for the operation of others than the Nevsky thread factory of Petersburg, the Orekho-Likinsky and Bogorodsky group. Excepting one small factory for the production of flax, thread factories have started to operate.

In summarizing the conditions of the textile industry, we must note that besides the difficulties which arise from the lack of fuel and supply, there is a great shortage of skilled workers; this may be explained by the drain of men to the Red Army and to the villages.

The dominant element of the factories at the present time is feminine; due to the lack of men they are obliged to apply the labor of women even in those branches of labor where the work of women had never before been utilized.

The lack of living quarters for the workers and employees is also an important draw-back which is strongly felt in the development of the textile industry. In view of the fact that the demands of the Russian workers have increased in general,

the absence of decent living quarters is felt very strongly by the workers of textile industries; the lack of workers in the building industry makes it almost impossible to solve the housing problem of the workers and employees. It is true, the hitherto filled dormitories are now being vacated, but there are still factories left which have bed-rooms, which accommodate a few families; in almost every factory we find rooms where persons of both sexes are living together in such close quarters as would not be permissible under a normal state of affairs.

The most urgent problem now before us is the building up of workmen's colonies near every textile center and mill. The need of living quarters is causing friction among the employees and workers in spite of the fact that necessary measures have been taken in many places to clear up the misunderstandings among them. This prevents the establishment of more normal relations between the higher technical personnel and the workers in textile industries; this hinders the coming of a new epoch in the relation of the skilled textile workers to the working mass without the intervention of the capitalists.

The change in these relations came forward more clearly at the last conferences which were called by the main administrative body of the textile enterprises. These were: the All-Russian Conference of Mechanics, and the Conference of Group Administrators. Very complex problems which grew out of the general conditions of the textile industry are facing us: the problem of stoppage of the mills, its remedy, the danger which the lack of fuel threatens, the question of improved methods of work which have before been the secret of a few factories, and many other problems in connection with the revolutionized industry—all these topics are awakening a great interest among the technical personnel.

The winter of 1919 in spite of the newly created difficulties in connection with the fuel-crisis, will undoubtedly see the transmission of the textile industry to a more normal basis.

The nationalized textile industry has gone through the first period of its reconstruction work: the chaos which was created after the removal of the factory-owners had to be cleared up. New business problems as to the execution of orders arising out of the needs of the population had to be solved by the nationalized textile industry. We may hope that the main administrative body will be able to get rid more quickly of all the shortcomings in its organization when it will deal with the purely practical side of its activity.

The supply for the coming season will be determined not by abstract conceptions about the conditions in factories, but by the actual demands of these factories; there will be actual data about the stock on hand, and correct information as to equipment and condition of workers.

In this purely business-like atmosphere all the red tape and all the corruption which existed un-

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CHINA appears to be about to enter the already large group of nations that are negotiating peace with Soviet Russia. A Moscow message of April 29, appearing in New York newspapers, May 3, states that a Chinese diplomatic and military mission, accompanied by a number of merchants, which arrived at Verkhnie-Udinsk, Transbaikalia, April 24, has reached an agreement with the representatives of the Russian and Transbaikal governments by which the Russo-Chinese frontier is to be opened for exports and imports. Exchange of goods, it is further reported, has already begun between China and Turkestan, and "China has refused further to recognize the representatives of the former Russian government in Peking, who have protested, together with the French officials, against the Russo-Chinese negotiations."

We do not know whether the former Russian representatives at Peking, during their post-mortem existence as Russian representatives since November 7, 1917, have been financed from the same source as their former colleagues in European countries, but it is apparent that the former Russian representatives at Peking are more in harmony with their French colleagues than with the *de facto* government of Russia today. With these French colleagues, and with the practice of the Russian diplomacy of the past, the former Russian representatives at Peking no doubt feel a strong bond of union, equalled in intensity only by the aversion they must feel when they read of the manner in which the Soviet Government is frankly renouncing all the loot of former Russian Govern-

ments. We cannot wonder that the former Russian representatives at Peking fly to the breasts of their imperialistic French colleagues for consolation, when they read, as we do in the *New York Times* of May 3 (Special Washington message of May 2), that a new Soviet manifesto to China denounces "all the enterprises of conquest by the former Russian Government, and therefore will return the Chinese Eastern Railway to China without compensation. It will also restore to China all the mines, forests and gold mines obtained from China by the Governments of the Romanovs, Kerensky, Horvath, Semionov, Kolchak and other bureaucrats." This, to be sure, is food too strong for the stomachs of those who have spent all their lives in the old, disreputable game of treacherous politeness with the representatives of other nations. And, in passing, how like each other do all the Russian governments seem that are enumerated in the denunciation! In the three years or more that have passed since the Czar was deposed, how similar to his were the governments of "Kerensky, Horvath, Semionov, Kolchak, and other bureaucrats," too numerous to catalog, that have sprung up in his wake, despite all their rich variety of democratic pretense!

One New York newspaper, about two months ago, commenting editorially on a premature announcement of the Russo-Chinese negotiations now officially recorded, remarked with amazement, almost dismay, the complete revolution in international relations that would be involved in a renunciation, on the part of the Russian people, of all schemes and plans for conquest that had been cherished for decades, if not for centuries, by their now deposed masters. The mind that still dwells in the shadows of the awkward and obscene past can scarcely conceive of the brightness and directness of the future, the plain-dealing and simple language, the outstretched hand for the future, and the wiping out of old scares for the past.

* * *

FRANCE seems to understand the new language—which means, of course, the new international philosophy—less than any of the other nations. France, which for several years past has been for many generous souls the torch-bearer of freedom and democracy in the struggle to overthrow the German militaristic government, is continuing the process, recently begun, of affording increasingly convincing evidence that her own aggressive militarism is of a type not easily distinguished from the baleful oppression which she aided in destroying. There cannot now be many persons who do not understand how completely the French imperialists are aping their German predecessors, and we find that even Mr. Walter Duranty, cabling on May 2 from Paris to the *New York Times*, is fairly well aware of the nature of the force that is driving the French Government to hurl into the struggle against Soviet Rus-

the country has suffered so much military activity in the last few months that it is not certain that much grain has been sown; besides, so little in the way of foodstuffs has been stored, that it is clear that the inhabitants must use all of their surplus to prepare for the next winter. Or is it the intention of the French-Polish invaders to take what grain there is, and leave nothing for the Ukrainians themselves? Or, will they—in case they should occupy any important areas of Ukrainian territory—permit the Ukrainians to fulfill their treaty obligations, involving exchanges of foodstuffs for manufactured products with Soviet Russia, before they demand their contribution of wheat to be sent to France? These are questions to which the answers would be interesting, if they were not self-evident, and France will show, by the manner in which she answers them, whether the lessons taught by the German militarists, whom she has now vanquished, have been fully absorbed. Our Paris correspondent, writing from that city at a date much earlier than that of Mr. Duranty's cable, points out the French origin of the present Ukrainian "aspirations" (to be printed in the next issue of *Soviet Russia*).

APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH WORKERS

Lansbury has brought the following letter from Lenin to the English workers:

"If you will succeed in bringing about a peaceful revolution in England no one will be as happy about it as we. Accustom yourselves to the discipline of the trade unions, create a strong discipline for the labor movement. Don't split the movement until forced to do so. Don't weaken it through premature strikes and revolts.

"Be united as long as it is possible. Don't let yourselves be driven to resort prematurely to force."

—Quoted from *Arbeiter-Stimme* of Warsaw, March 31, 1920.

ADVANCE OF RED TROOPS

Moscow, March 3.—The military bulletin of the northern fronts states: In the Murmansk district, the Red troops have occupied the station of Soroki, on the White Sea coast, 45 versts to the south of Kem. The Caucasian front reports: Supplementary information indicates that we took more than 4,000 prisoners in the fall of Stavropol.

OUR NEIGHBOR CHINA

(Continued from page 465)

"The day will come," says Captain d'Ollone in his wonderful book *La Chine Novatrice et Guerrière*, "when China will form the most formidable army in the world."

And Captain d'Ollone is perfectly right; I only can complete the statement of this French explorer of China by adding that the future Chinese army will be a people's army, created on the same principles as those underlying the first anti-militaristic army of the Russian proletariat.

ITALY TRADES WITH RUSSIA

Avanti publishes the following resolution of the Executive Committee of the consumer's league in Milan:

"The Executive Committee of the Consumer's League administration in Milan took notice of the information (which appeared in the Italian and foreign newspapers) concerning the reopening of commercial relations with Russia by the Allied powers.

"Great satisfaction was expressed over the possibility of reestablishment of economical intercourse of the allied governments with Russia; this policy had its initiative in the unanimous resolution accepted in the Italian Parliament at the session of December last. It is the duty of the administration of the Consumer's League of Milan to favor every well disposed movement morally and materially, and it is ready to support such movements as tend to reopen new markets for new commercial commodities and articles of necessity; we can easily see the significant character of this movement for our big city, its relation to other similar consumers' leagues and to other distributing organizations of our nation. This seems to be the only way to prevent the endless increase of prices on all articles necessary for the League. It must unite with the more sound and alert elements of the country in order with all its power to prevent this new initiative of the Entente Governments from being taken up and utilized by private speculators, without the least advantage, more likely to the disadvantage, of the consumers.

"It is therefore resolved, that the administration of the Consumers' League in Milan shall be at the head of this commercial movement; Italy will then be able (with the aid of its organs of communistic tendency, of provincial consumers' leagues and cooperations) to be in the first line when advantages will arrive from this international situation.

"It further resolves to carry on all the necessary negotiations and to arrange the work in order to get in direct touch with the organs of the producers and consumers in Russia.

"It resolves, at last, to inform about this decision the mayor of the town of Milan in order that he may use his authority in securing the consent of the majority of the consumers of Milan; the latter shall influence the government to carry out all the necessary practical measures in order to obtain different facilities (passports, credentials, moral and economical support, means of transportation, etc.), which are essential for the reestablishment of commercial relations with Russia."

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLAND

Moscow, March 31.—The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has proposed to the Polish Government that Dorpat be the seat of the peace negotiations.

whose interests are affected by the marriage, or by representatives of the government.

76. Actions for the annulment of marriage shall be tried by the local courts which shall proceed in accordance with the rules in effect within their jurisdiction.

77. A marriage shall be deemed void if both or either of the parties thereto had not attained the matrimonial age, except in the following cases:

- a) where the action for the annulment of the marriage has been commenced by the plaintiff after the attainment of the matrimonial age.
- b) where subsequent to the marriage children were born or the wife has become pregnant.

78. A marriage shall be considered void if contracted by insane persons, or by feeble-minded persons incapable of understanding the significance of their acts.

79. A marriage shall be void if contracted at the time when one of the parties thereto was already married, such previous marriage still continuing in force and not having been dissolved by the death of the former husband or wife, or by divorce.

80. In case a marriage be declared void on the ground stated in Section 79, the marriage previously contracted shall remain in force.

81. A marriage shall be deemed void if contracted without the consent of either of the parties thereto, or when such consent was given in an unconscious state or under duress.

82. Ecclesiastical and religious marriages contracted before the 20th of December, 1917, shall be deemed to be void, if the conditions and forms set forth in Sections 3, 5, 12, 20, 28, 31 of the civil laws then in effect (compiled statutes of the Russian Empire, Vol. X, part 1, ed. 1914) were not complied with.

NOTE: Marriages, referred to in the preceding section, if contracted in violation of Section 23, Vol. X, part 1, compiled statutes, ed. 1914, then in effect, shall be deemed valid, unless the parties to the marriage be relatives in the direct ascending and descending lines or consanguineous or half-consanguineous brothers and sisters.

83. After the decree declaring the annulment of a marriage shall take effect, the marriage shall be considered void from the moment of the conclusion of the same.

84. Persons, whose marriage was annulled, may remarry conformably to the general rules relating to marriage.

Chapter IV.

Dissolution of Marriage.

85. Marriage is dissolved by the death of either party thereto or by a decision of a court adjudging either of the parties dead.

86. Marriage may be dissolved by divorce during the lifetime of the parties thereto.

NOTE: The provisions of the present act relating to divorce shall likewise apply to ecclesiastic and religious marriages contracted up to December 20, 1917.

87. Mutual consent of the husband or wife or the desire of either of them to obtain a divorce shall be considered a ground for divorce.

88. A petition for the dissolution of marriage may be presented orally or in writing and an official report shall be drawn thereon.

89. The petition for the dissolution of marriage must be accompanied by the certificate of marriage, or, in the absence thereof, by a declaration signed by the

petitioner to the effect that the parties are married, stating the place where the marriage was performed; the party making the declaration shall be responsible for the accuracy thereof.

90. The petition for the dissolution of marriage shall be presented to the local court having jurisdiction of the district where the parties to the marriage reside, or to any local court chosen by the parties to the action; if the action for divorce is brought by one of the parties only, the petition shall be presented to that court which has jurisdiction over the husband's place of residence, whether the latter be the plaintiff or the defendant.

NOTE: In case the residence of the defendant be unknown, the petition for the dissolution of the marriage may be presented to the court having jurisdiction of the district wherein the plaintiff resides, in which case the summons shall be issued in the form prescribed for cases where the residence of the defendant is unknown.

91. Where the application for the dissolution of the marriage is made by the mutual consent of the parties, the petition may be presented either to the local court or to the office for the registration of marriages wherein the marriage was originally registered.

92. The chief of the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, upon being satisfied that the petition for the dissolution of the marriage has actually been presented by both parties, shall make an entry recording the dissolution of the marriage and shall deliver to the parties, at their request, a certificate of divorce.

93. Actions for divorce shall be tried by the local judge in public.

94. Every local judge shall fix certain hours, at least once a week, for the trial of actions for the dissolution of marriage.

95. In case both parties or their attorneys appear before the local court, the judge may try the case immediately, provided that such trial shall not interfere with the calendar of that day.

96. Upon the receipt of a petition for dissolution of marriage by mutual consent, the court shall set the day for the examination of the petition and shall give notice thereof to the parties and their attorneys.

97. Upon rendering a decision for the dissolution of a marriage the judge shall issue to the parties, upon their application, a certificate of divorce, and shall transmit not later than within three days thereafter a copy of his decision to the local office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, or to any other institution wherein the marriage so dissolved was registered.

98. The decision of the local court in an action for the dissolution of marriage may be appealed from in the usual manner to the Court of Cassation (*) and shall not take effect until the expiration of the time for appealing to the Court of Cassation, unless the parties to the action have waived their intention to appeal to the Court of Cassation.

99. No action for the dissolution of a marriage shall be commenced after the death of one of the parties thereto or after the annulment of the marriage; a pending action shall be terminated by the death of one of the parties, or by the annulment of the marriage.

* The Court of Cassation is the French and Russian equivalent of the American courts of error.

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and on their federation. This decree was the result of the Third Congress of Consumers' Cooperatives. The *petit bourgeois* influence on the Russian Cooperative movement, in which the Workers' Cooperatives played a large role, thus became a law. This *petit bourgeois* influence was exerted by the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists, the "unlabelled socialists" and the various kinds of "Reformists." Until the November Revolution it was they who gave spiritual nourishment to the workers' cooperative movement.

We still recall the struggle which took place beginning in 1907 and lasting up to our day, for the conquest of the Workers' Cooperatives. In 1907, already, the Mensheviks, completely deserting the workers' movement, had thrown all their attention on "legal" methods. The Bolshevik journals, our *Echo* for example, were then firmly opposed to these tendencies.

In 1907 the Bolsheviks of our party, at Moscow as well as Petrograd, carried on a desperate struggle against the intrigues of the Mensheviks, who styled themselves "Socialists," in the cooperative field. The Mensheviks asked the famished workers of Petrograd to struggle against the high cost of living by forming cooperative stores. This was their only means; the Petrograd Committee of our party, on the contrary, declared: "The only means of struggling against the progressing high cost of living is the direct action of the proletariat, the organization of mass demonstrations, and the presenting of a resolution to the Duma by the Social-Democratic representatives in that body, demanding that the food shops and bakeries be organized by the official bodies of the cities, for the common good, and be placed under the control of workers' representatives." Simultaneously a resolution concerning the cooperative question was adopted in a number of factories by the Petrograd workers; this resolution began with the words:

"Although we recognize that the solidification of the political and the cooperative movement is the principal task of this moment, we nevertheless must be on our guard against involving ourselves too much in the consumers' cooperatives. We are opposed to founding such cooperatives in places in which there is not a mass movement favoring them."

The Mensheviks took advantage of this pretext to arouse a tempest of indignation, not only in their own papers, but also in the entire liberal press. The cooperators Totomianz, Terezheslavsky and other, simply insulted the Bolsheviks and the workers. Thus, the Russian workers' cooperatives found themselves, up to very recent days, in the hands of the liberals and of the *petit bourgeois* socialists.

2. The November Revolution and Cooperation.

Such was the state of the cooperatives in Russia at the moment of the November Revolution. They preserved their bourgeois spirit even after Novem-

ber—in fact, for a whole year—up to the Third All-Russian Congress of Workers' Cooperatives. Such a situation naturally cannot fail to appear abnormal. While the country was already under the dictatorship of the proletariat, one phase of the workers' movement still remained in the hands of elements which were foreign to the working classes, namely, the *petit bourgeois* cooperators.

It is a striking fact that the consumers' cooperatives constitute the last stronghold of political-social reaction. The enemies of the Soviet Government sought from that place as a point of vantage to deal the death-blow to the proletarian dictatorship. The slogan, "the independence of the workers' cooperatives," was still energetically proclaimed, but in reality this meant the complete dependence of these cooperatives on the bourgeoisie, and the real aim was to maintain the struggle against the Soviet Government, to return to the idealistic stage of private property and private trade. Could the proletariat reconcile itself with this condition? The revolution was faced with the question of destroying the last support of the enemies of the working class. It was necessary, before anything else, that so powerful and so experienced an organ of the distribution of economic necessities as the Consumers' Cooperatives should be employed in the socialistic reconstruction of the country.

The Socialist Government then directed all its attention to the consumers' cooperatives, deciding to utilize them as an organ for the distribution of foodstuffs, an organ which would adapt itself to the nationalized production, to a production no longer dependent on private property, but completely socialized.

With this object in view, there was published in January, 1918, a draft of a decree on consumers' communes, which aimed to include the consumers' cooperatives in the system of the economic organization of the Soviet Government. The *petit bourgeois* cooperators emitted dreadful cries. They organized a conference of the cooperators of the central federation; they drew up a number of reports having as their *leitmotiv* always the same old refrain: "The cooperatives will be ruined."

The workers' consumers' cooperatives in Russia had been too profoundly penetrated with the bourgeois ideology. Very energetic methods had to be taken to bring them to a point where they would be equal to their task. The proletariat held the political power in their hands. Its trade union federations were laying the foundation for socialized production; but the consumers' cooperatives, allegedly belonging to the workers, refused to place themselves solely in the employ of the victorious classes. While the consumers' cooperatives in the bourgeois regime were an organ in the struggle of the proletariat having as their object the destruction of the capitalist system, they necessarily became, after the victory of the working classes, an inseparable part of the entire Soviet structure. As the trade union federations have ceased, under

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RUSSIA has repeatedly emphasized her desire to trade with the other countries of the world; if the exchanges are not taking place, it is not her fault but theirs. While Allied representatives are talking to Russian trade agents, Polish armies, equipped and officered at Allied expense, are pressing farther into Soviet Russia, which is taken by surprise, having considered that the occupation of a line 200 miles west of the Polish frontier as fixed by the Versailles treaty would be enough even for the greedy appetites of the Polish imperialists.

If, therefore, Soviet Russia ceased her negotiations with foreign powers for the opening of trade relations, as she is reported to have done, there is every reason to believe that she knows what she is doing. Our readers will surely welcome the reprint given below of a Copenhagen message to the New York American, which, owing to its frank tone and unmistakable language, bears every earmark of genuineness:

Copy of Cable to New York American.

May 5, 1920.—Head of Russian Trade Delegation told me yesterday delegation decided return to Russia. They doubt Allied sincerity in matter of trade with Russia for following reasons: First, they have waited here in vain for over a week for a reply from San Remo. Second, Lloyd George is evasive and sticking to small points of personalities and resorting to untruthful stories about alleged breach of diplomatic privileges. Third, British fleet conducting active naval operations against Black Sea Coast. Fourth, delegation has come to conclusion that Russia can give much more to Western Europe than Europe can give to Russia and that Russia should not be dictated to or dealt with by way of ultimatums. The country that could help Russia

most, stands aloof. The establishing of Soviet Government in Baku and its alliance with Moscow gives access to oil; opens for Soviet Russia Government new perspectives of greater importance than foreign trade. Lenin was certainly right, they say, in anticipating that the salvation of Russia does not lie necessarily with foreign intercourse, though that is highly desirable, but with intensification and self-disciplining of labor within Russia itself. Delegation believes Allies plan another intervention using Poland and Japan and only when this is beaten will they be amenable to negotiations in a decent way. Russia realizes that a Polish War may be the beginning of a new general European conflagration, but throws the responsibility on Poland and those who are backing her. In the meantime trade negotiations proceed briskly with Scandinavian concerns totaling twenty million kroner agricultural and other machinery actually being fulfilled and others being negotiated total hundred millions kroner, but Scandinavia has comparatively little that Russia needs and it is unfortunate that trade with America is still delayed.

Soviet Russia has learnt by experience what is all too often the function of foreign delegations in Russia: many of our readers may still remember the letter sent to the President of France on September 4, 1918, by Rene Marchand, then a newspaper correspondent (for the Paris *Figaro*) in Russia, describing the counter-revolutionary intrigues carried on in that country against the government that had been set up by the workers and peasants,—carried on by representatives of "respectable" foreign powers, who emphasized the demand of their home governments for "law and order" in Russia by blowing up bridges and in every way obstructing the transportation and production facilities of the new government of Russia. Soviet Russia has had enough of this. Our readers will therefore understand that when Soviet Russia declines to harbor certain delegations, and fails to respond with enthusiasm to certain extremely mellifluous notes of peace, the tormented and persecuted Russia of the workers has every reason to consider the proposal in question to be a fraudulent and treacherous one.

* * *

WE are pleased to state our agreement with a sentiment recently expressed by a member of parliament who is reported in a recent number of the *London Herald* as having said: "The sooner the Supreme Council ceases to meet, the better I shall be pleased." The statement is credited to Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., who continues by saying: "We have reached a crisis in the world's history, and we have got to find some means of preventing future wars."

It is especially in the matter of preventing future wars that the San Remo Conference seems to display considerable incapacity. For, the disturbing thing about the recent renewed invasion of Soviet Russia by Polish troops is that it comes immediately after the San Remo Conference, and seems to force the conclusion that the advance of the Polish troops was ordered as a result of the conversations taking place at the San Remo Conference. If this is the case—and there seems to be no way of readily evading this conclusion—we

tion of the land decrees, analyzed above, the subsequent work of the Soviet Government on socialistic land organization consisted mainly in the practical realization of the principles laid down in those decrees. Many Soviet estates were organized and agricultural communes promoted. As a result, toward the end of 1919, the cultivated land area of the Soviet estates amounted to some 1,000,000 dessyatines, and almost in every Soviet province tens and hundreds of agricultural communes have sprung up.

However, the results achieved are not impressive: only a small percentage of the vast agricultural area has been nationalized or collectivized in respect of cultivation. The main causes of the slow process of the agricultural socialization as yet have been: the ignorance and the prejudices

of the masses of the peasants; the lack of live and dead inventory in particular of agricultural machinery; and the employment of hundreds of thousands of the best agricultural producers in the military service. But as soon as—after the inevitable conclusion of peace—Soviet Russia will be able to employ in productive work all its laboring forces and to get the needed agricultural implements, the socialization of agriculture will proceed more successfully. The Soviet economists purpose to increase in 1920 the territory of the operated Soviet estates to 2,000,000 dessyatines, not counting the eventual organization of additional agricultural communes. Altogether it will form a deeply rooted and safe foundation for the further socialization of Russian agriculture.

Radio Dispatches

LENIN'S STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS

Moscow, (via Vienna).—Lenin addressed the Congress of the Red Army, on conditions in Soviet Russia. Speaking of the international situation Lenin points out that Soviet Russia still endures after two years of struggle against the five greatest world powers, and declared that this was made possible because of the allies founds in the camps of the enemy, that is the working masses of the different civilized countries. The English and French were compelled to withdraw their soldiers from the north and the south as they refused to fight against the Bolsheviks. In the future we may still expect many difficulties, but the greatest difficulties we have already overcome. We do not fear the world power of the Entente.

Speaking of the national economy Lenin says that we are here facing a hard struggle in the reconstruction of economic life. The rural districts will help us to put Russia in good condition, not after the old, but after new methods—after all the lessons of modern technique. Without doubt the battle upon the bloodless front will lead us to far greater victories than the victories of our troops over the international imperialism.

FREIHEIT DEMANDS DECISION.

Berlin, Thursday, (N.P.C.).—*Die Freiheit* attacks the foreign policy of the national government and demands that negotiations with Russia be hastened, for strong economic reasons. It warns against a precipitate emigration into Russia, especially since there is a great demand for workers in Germany.

RED ARMY VICTORIOUS.

Telegraph from Moscow.—The Military report of March 7 states that 30 cannon, 6 machine guns, 1,300 rifles and other equipment, were captured

by our troops at Kem. In the direction of Ilichev our army penetrated to the region of the village of Khichev.

Persistent battles are going on in the Ovruch and Mozer regions. In the Mogilev-Podolsk region battles have begun, towards the northeast of the city. At Dniester, on the coast of the Black Sea, there is quiet. In the Rostov region our troops have taken the station of Umanskaya, where prisoners and guns were captured. Our advance continues in the Velikoknashe region, to the railway line, where our troops are located 20 versts east of the station of Tikhoretskaya. In the Sergiopol region our troops have, after battles, taken positions at Kuvkazaki and Znamensky, 50 versts southeast of Sergiopol and Taldyk Kudukasky. The enemy has retreated in a southerly direction.

In the Svyatokrestov region our offensive continues and five hundred prisoners, 2 cannon, 15 machine guns, and other trophies were taken.

TRADE PLANS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Moscow.—Rapid preparations are being made in Petrograd for the opening up of sea traffic. The merchant vessels are being put into condition because it is considered that a merchant marine is necessary in the spring for the reopening of relations with western Europe. In the Commissariat for Foreign Trade at Petrograd, and in the Council of National Economy they are working feverishly on fitting vessels and furnishing equipment for the imminent opening of the season.

FREE CAR RIDES IN PETROGRAD.

Moscow, March 5.—The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet has suggested to its Communal Section to declare all traffic on surface cars to be free of charge.

experiments in this field have been completed, and two big government plants are now exclusively exploiting the slate deposits. Deposits of slate and peat are immense. They exist in northern Russia as well as in the Volga valley. This kind of fuel is very bulky and cannot be transported. Peat and slate must be utilized on the spot, and electrical energy derived therefrom made to supply the needs of the surrounding territory. This condition led the Supreme Council of National Economy eighteen months ago to undertake the building of gigantic power stations which would use on the spot the available peat and slate supplies. Provincial cities and rural organizations have also taken steps for the electrification of their territory. It is necessary to consolidate these efforts and to create a unified, centralized system of supplying electric power, whereby the utmost attention must be given to supplying electricity to the rural communities. The realization of these plans would greatly accelerate the development of relations between the cities and rural communities."

In conclusion, Rykov expressed his conviction that the economic disruption will be conquered through intensive labor on the part of the conscious proletariat, through the establishment of universal labor service, through the organization of labor armies, etc. In this manner, Soviet Russia will rapidly heal the wounds caused by the world war and the civil war, and bring Russia's economic life to a high level.

Labor Mobilization.

The Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Military Council, Trotsky, presented a report on the mobilization of labor.

Trotsky first gave an outline of the situation on the various fronts.

"On the western front we note first of all the complete collapse of Yudenich's army. On the Esthonian front military activities have ceased altogether. But the extreme imperialistic elements of the Entente Governments are trying to incite against us a new enemy—the Polish Government. It is to be hoped, however," said Trotsky, "that the Polish Government will display sufficient caution and common sense to refrain from attacking the Soviet Republic."

"The Soviet Government," said Trotsky, "has fully demonstrated its peacefulness. You have accepted the manifesto of the Soviet Government to the people of Poland. The Soviet armies will not encroach on the line of demarkation, but if the Polish Government, disregarding the interests of the people of Poland, will undertake an attack on Soviet Russia, the armies on the western front, with the aid of the necessary reserves, will do their duty to the end.

"The eastern front is completely liquidated. On the southern front we are finishing Denikin, after having effected a necessary regrouping of our forces.

"We are approaching the final liquidation of the civil war. We are unable, however, fully to demobilize the army until we receive serious international guarantees for our national integrity. We are demobilizing certain parts of our army, but will retain some permanent forces in endangered territories for the safeguarding of our national existence.

"The demobilization in the army represents our transition to a militia army. The organization of our militia army will have to correspond to the needs of the economic life of the country. We will have to reorganize the administration of each territory, with due consideration for the position of important industrial centers. Our economic problems depend on the proper relation between the large manufacturing industries and agricultural production. Our economic administrative districts must be composed of industrial centers surrounded by rural districts gravitating toward that center. Our militia districts must correspond to such rural districts. The centers of such districts will be located in the productive centers, where we have on hand a nucleus of workingmen who are trained to be leaders of the economic as well as of the intellectual and political life of the district. The officers of our future army, now being organized by us, must at the same time be the officers of our industries. They are our best workers and our best and most conscious working peasants, who will be the leaders of our industries and of our agriculture. In such centers we will also establish educational courses for the training of Red commanders, to replenish the present commanding element, and at the same time not to detach the future Red officers from their productive bases."

Having described the organization of the labor battalions, Trotsky discussed at some length the question of universal labor service and of the registration of the labor forces.

"The economic condition of the country," he said, "demands the establishment of universal labor service. Whereas we are compelled to mobilize the industrial workers through the apparatus of the trade unions, the enrolling of peasants in the universal labor service is possible only by undertaking a mobilization along military lines. For this purpose it is necessary to organize a Supreme Committee of Labor Service, which will be the principal agent for supplying labor forces for the needs of the workers' government. It is necessary to concentrate all requisitions for labor in the hands of a centralized organ, to avoid confusion and conflicts of authority. Some of our needs require seasonal work, some periodical, others temporary; and still others permanent, employment of labor. It is the task of local committees to see to that no conflicts arise in this respect."

Trotsky emphasized the tremendous difference between compulsory labor under conditions of private ownership and under conditions created by the establishment of a socialistic state. "Only peo-

troops. Available meat supplies amount to 6,500,000 poods (234,000,000 lbs.), potatoes 23,000,000 poods (828,000,000 lbs.) and dried vegetables 100,000 poods (3,600,000 lbs.). The condition of the railroads is such, however, that it is very difficult to bring these supplies to the hungering districts and great privation prevails in many parts of Russia for this reason. The Commissar pointed out that the willingness of the peasant population regularly to supply breadstuffs is increasing now, and that the Commissariat is developing measures for the supply of other rural

products, such as milk, butter, game and eggs.

The activities of the Commissariat of Supplies had encountered much criticism, and the Communist Party of Russia had suggested that the Executive Committee should appoint a committee to reorganize the machinery of the Commissariat of Supplies. This suggestion was accepted by the Executive Committee and a committee of three was appointed, one member representing the Executive Committee, one member from the Commissariat of Supplies, and one member from the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

Siberian Schools Before the Kolchak Reaction

By MRS. GERTRUDE TOBINSON.

Public schools were not in existence in Siberia during the old regime. The existing schools of that time were privately owned and controlled by the rich and by the priests. Consequently, only the wealthy enjoyed the privilege of having their children educated. Besides, the requirements of the schools were such that it was economically impossible for the workers and peasants to comply with them. Tuition fees were charged; the children had to be elegantly dressed or they were made fun of, and it was a strict rule to wear uniforms. As a result, the poor remained uneducated and we therefore find at present so many Russian peasants and workers who cannot read and write.

When the first revolution occurred in March, 1917, the teachers in Siberia started a movement for the establishment of public schools. But no assistance was given to them by the Kerensky government, which was too busy preparing and mobilizing the best and strongest sons and daughters of Russia for war. The problem of education in general, and in particular the public schools, remained untouched except for a few philanthropic societies that opened private charity schools for the poor. The teachers, realizing the importance of a change in the educational field, were patiently waiting and hoping for a change in the government.

With the approach of the Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917, the teachers began to see a possibility for the realization of their dreams. Indeed the most significant phenomenon in the process of reconstruction in Siberia was the attention given to education. When the Soviets were established, the teachers immediately called conferences all over the country for the purpose of changing the entire system, in fact, with the intention of building up a new system of education. A split occurred at each conference, with the majority expressing sympathy and confidence in the Soviet Government. Only a handful of the old reactionary teachers resented the formation of a union and recognition of the Soviets. But the opposition was so insignificant that it did not count. It was

the dying old order. The new generation had come to rule.

There sprung up at that time teachers' unions in each city, which were composed of young men and women full of enthusiasm, idealism, and devotion to a new form of education. Many girls and boys whose fathers were officers in the old regime were compelled to leave their homes because of the attitude they took to the Soviet Government. In Khabarovsk, the city where I had the pleasure of spending nine months, many young girls who had recently graduated from *gymnasiums* left their homes to join the teachers' union. They lived in the Teachers' Home, a building which was rented by them for that purpose. There they would come together evenings, sitting in candlelit rooms, sipping their sugarless tea, seeing visions and enthusiastically discussing the best means for bringing them to life. "We must," they would say, "appropriate for this purpose the finest and most sanitary buildings of the city. We must organize the mothers and bring education within the reach of the peasants and workers." They would come together night after night, planning, discussing and dreaming. There were among them Bolsheviks, Left Social Revolutionists and even Mensheviks—all with one idea and one purpose,—to work with the Soviet for the progress of free education.

Immediately after the election of one of the ablest teachers to the State Soviet, the best buildings were assigned for public schools. Children from the city and surrounding villages began to pour into these buildings. Notwithstanding the fact that they were greatly handicapped by the lack of a sufficient number of teachers to cope with the situation and the lack of new text books (the old text books were entirely discarded), they showed wonderful progress in a very short period. In addition to the public schools, various educational institutions were established. Workers' universities, evening schools in the unions, a conservatory of music were established in the city of Khabarovsk. Libraries were opened in practically every

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LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK, in his military article this week, discusses the technical and political prospects of the offensive which the Allied powers have just succeeded in coercing the Polish Government to undertake against Soviet Russia. It is with pleasure that we call the attention of those who are interested in world affairs to the fact that this military action is not an independent Polish adventure, and that those European powers who are affecting to "watch it with grave concern" are in reality hoping against hope that the forces they have now unleashed may, by some unforeseen accident, turn out to be their savior in the crisis of their Russian relations—may appear as the St. George that will slay the dragon, the Russian Soviet Government. Of course, they are leaning upon a reed, and their dismay, when Poland crumbles—as it soon must—will be a sorry sight. But meanwhile, let us be frank, and let so honest and matter-of-fact a newspaper as the *Springfield Republican* not utter such sentences as this: "In Washington this development is causing anxiety and in Europe it is watched with no less concern."

ALTHOUGH the outcome of the Polish offensive is bound, therefore, to be a disastrous disappointment to the Allied governments, certain newspaper circles are again enjoying their periodic feast on the ruins of a "collapsed Russia." Viewing Russia, as they do, as the missionary of a new faith, their joy in her alleged dissolution can be compared only with that of hungry cannibals awaiting the decease of a foreign missionary; and,

like the cannibals, they have already done all in their power to accelerate this "dissolution." The specific cause for gratification just now appears to be the remarks on Soviet Russia, communicated by the Associated Press in Washington despatches, of Colonel Edward W. Ryan, Red Cross Commissioner for North Russia and the Baltic States, who is said to have paid "a surreptitious visit to Russia with the Estonian peace delegation," and concerning the length of whose stay in Soviet Russia the Associated Press dispatch of May 13 (from Washington) says the following:

"Colonel Ryan left Reval on March 23, travelling as a private citizen with the Estonian mission. He spent the following day in Petrograd, arriving in Moscow on March 26 and returning to Petrograd five days later and to Reval on April 2."

Colonel Ryan's impressions of Soviet Russia are extremely unfavorable: in his week—or let us give him eight days—in Russia, he observed that:

"Both Moscow and Petrograd were indescribably filthy in appearance," Colonel Ryan said. The streets, he was informed, have not been cleaned for four years and were at least ankle deep, in most places knee deep, in dirt.

"Women," he said, "presented a doleful appearance everywhere." Colonel Ryan declared that he saw no attractive looking woman during the entire course of his stay.

Leaving aside the question of the appearance of the women, for we cannot know how fastidious a judge Colonel Ryan may be in this field, we may say that his statement on the amount of filth in the streets of the Russian capitals has been contradicted in advance by no less an observer than Mr. Lincoln Eyre, who spent three months in Soviet Russia (November, 1919—February, 1920), and who took pains, in a Paris cable of March 7, to the *New York World*, to contradict a few silly newspaper stories that had appeared in English newspapers of December 27; here is the story as it appeared in the English newspapers:

"According to telegrams received by way of Finland, the people of Petrograd passed a very desolate Christmas, being without food or fuel, while spotted typhus and Spanish influenza were rampant. The sanitary conditions of the city baffle description. The water supply is frozen, so that water from the Neva or melted snow has been used for drinking purposes. The weather is very cold and kitchen furniture is being burned as fuel.

"Only one disinfectant is obtainable and only four infirmaries are open. Bands of robbers frequently visit unoccupied premises, and the authorities are quite powerless against these marauders, who carry off everything left by the Red Guards. Misery is so great in Petrograd that the inhabitants are contemplating death as a relief."

And here is the answer of Mr. Eyre, who is surely not inclined to be a lenient or friendly critic of conditions in Soviet Russia:

I was in Petrograd several days before, during and after Christmas week. From my own comprehensive observation, I say without hesitation that the only accurate statement contained in the above despatch is contained in these words: "The weather is very cold."

While there were a few cases of typhus and Spanish influenza, neither of these diseases was "rampant." Sanitary conditions were as good as could possibly be

life of the people, but, on the contrary, are thrown into this life; they are members of the Party; they send their delegates to the Workers' Councils, they also attend the workers meetings, and take active part in all revolutionary celebrations. Often conferences of the workers are called—one delegate to each ten members—in which the representatives in the Workers' Councils report on all their practical activities. In Moscow these conferences are addressed by Comrade Lenin and other People's Commissars. Every newspaper has a little page "For the Army." In this little supplement the soldiers tell about the life they lead, criticize defects, discuss the political and military situation or make practical suggestions for the improvement of the Red Army.

Much more difficult is the activity in the field of cultural educational work, when carried on immediately on the line of battle. But even in this case it plays an extremely important role. It is conducted by the political sections of the army at the front, and carried out by the communist commissars in the regiments and companies. Thus, newspapers are distributed in great numbers, and meetings are held, sometimes even under the enemy's fire. Whole railway trains of special cars of American construction, beautifully painted and decorated, provided with moving pictures, accompanied by actors, lecturers, musicians, and, in addition, full of inexhaustible quantities of literature, are constantly moving between the fronts; this literature, as well as the train-newspaper is prepared in special printing offices, in addition to which the train also has a radio station, canteens, baths, and cars with gifts for the soldiers. Traveling troupes attached to the Proletkult give performances immediately behind the front and thus cultural work is the general function of the Red Army.

The Red Army is not a small band cut off from the great mass of workers, but is simply an advance guard of armed people. For the military organizations include all the workers and peasants, even a considerable number of women. General obligatory military instruction is given to every worker, enabling him to manipulate rifle, machine gun, revolver and hand grenade. The commissariats of war combined the active workers into reserve formations which are ready at any hour to drop their peaceful work in the factory or in the field and to proceed to the front. This is the second great source of power of the Red Army. The Red Army is a class army, an army of peasants and workers, an army of the proletarian dictatorship, and as such reflects in its structure the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Only such active workers are mobilized in the army as are not supported by the work of others. No weapons may be handed to a bourgeois; he would not fight for communism! he would only use such weapons for purposes of counter-revolution. Therefore the bourgeoisie are mobilized for

work in the rear. The leaders and officers of this class army are the most conscious and efficient communists. But we must dwell a moment on the question of the command, for this is the weakest side of the Red Army, in which the entire character of the transition period expresses itself. For we are living in a period in which the proletariat is compelled to utilize the useful remnants of the old system for its present purposes.

The Red Army is engaged in conflict with armies which are equipped with all the resources of engineering and science (the armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich are not mere hordes or bands). Effective resistance can be offered to such armies only by an army at the same standard of perfection; we have learnt this from our first defeats. Specialists must guide the whole matter. Therefore feverish activity is developing all over Russia, in order to train workers and peasants, in courses of instruction as well as in special war academies, to make military leaders of them. But the number of Red soldiers is increasing much more rapidly than the number of officers and the participants in the courses that have been formed—and they are always the best men, who have for the most part performed veritable miracles of valor—are sent to the front to dangerous situations, and are then put in the ranks as simple soldiers, which involves an interruption of their training. Therefore the officers of the Czarist army insofar as they had not gone over to Kolchak or Denikin had to be resorted to. Some of these officers are working because distress and the Soviet power are forcing them (while their sympathies remain on the side of the Whites), others are working because they consider they are defending the inhabitants of Russia against Entente or German imperialism. A few, finally, have accepted the revolutionary standpoint by contact with events. It is evident that in view of the enormous number of non-communist elements, the unified command, which from a strategic standpoint would be most desirable, cannot be introduced, all the more since a large number of traitors had also found their way in among the really efficient officers of the old regime. Therefore the old officers have been under the strict supervision of the political commissars, whose task, without interfering in purely strategical affairs, is to prevent the commissars from carrying out counter-revolutionary intentions. These commissars, who are also under strict supervision, are the most able workers of the Communist Party. The control of the front and of the armies is in the hands of the Revolutionary War Council, consisting generally of representatives of the Soviet power. The course of events, which now requires us for a moment to use the old generals and officers, is leading to a unified command on the part of the Communist commissars. And more,—the Bolsheviks have often been censured for having demanded the election of officers under Kerensky, while they now appoint the of-

suffered much from the civil war, especially in view of the fact that the principal steel districts in Russia are situated in the Ural region and in the Don valley, where the war has raged in its most bitter form. Tens of thousands of metal workers have been killed and many of the most important steel and metal factories have been damaged. Now the Russian workers are confronted with the task of rebuilding what has been destroyed by the counter-revolution. "It is natural," he said, "that during the war the metal industry worked principally to supply the needs of the front. It has not been possible to satisfy the needs of the civil population as the defence of the Workers' Republic required immense amounts of bullets, guns and munitions. The Russian metal workers are proud of the fact that their great efforts have contributed to the victory of the workers over the reaction."

Mr. Shliapnikov gave the following interesting information about the position the unions occupied in Russia. "The entire metallurgical industry," he said, "is managed with direct participation on the part of the metal workers unions. All posi-

tions of leadership in the industry are filled after consultation with the union and from a list of candidates submitted by it. We have one big metal workers union. We do not recognize any small organizations within the industry because such organizations only split up the working class. You are, of course, interested in the living conditions of the Russian metal workers. I will state frankly that the conditions are very difficult. We were poor before this and during these two years we have become still poorer. We have been hungry and cold and sick, but we have been too much taken up by our tremendous struggle to pay much attention to our personal sufferings and privations. The main thing has been to defend our Socialistic Republic. Only now, three years after the Russian Revolution, is it possible for us to take up the struggle against misery and we are confident that we will win that war as we won in the war against reaction.

"We are our own masters now within our industry. We have no lockouts, no employers' unions, no police brutalities."

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN RUSSIA

Moscow.—At the last Congress of Soviets in Moscow, at which Kamenev presided, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, delivered a report stating among other things that in Soviet Russia 1,650 schools were opened in 1919. Altogether there are now in Soviet Russia 50,000 schools of the first grade* and 21,000 schools of the second grade.** In 1919, 150,000 pairs of boots were distributed to needy school children. To stimulate higher education, the Commissariat for Popular Instruction has appropriated a sum of 140,000,000 rubles in its budget. The number of university students in Soviet Russia is now 158,000 including auditors at people's and peasants' universities, as well as the participants in a number of other courses. The number of professors is 5,500. In addition there are in Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh, Kazan and Saratov various schools for the training of artists, attended by more than 4,000 students.

ANNIVERSARY OF PARIS COMMUNE

Moscow, March 23.—"Now is the day of the Paris Commune," is the heading used by *Pravda* for an article concerning the historic significance of the Paris Commune. "Now the day has come when the workers are beginning to rise, to the great terror of the bourgeoisie, which feels that its end is approaching. They are making their

last effort to form a counter-revolutionary bloc, made up of elements from the extreme right, down to the social-traitors, in order to combat Socialism. But their efforts will be of no avail."

SOVIET RUSSIA AND AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY, April 14, 1920.—The Russian Soviet Government has opened a Bureau in Australia, the office of which is at Sydney. The head of the Bureau is Peter Simonov, the Consul General of the Soviet Government in Australia, who is now taking the necessary steps to secure an early resumption of trade relations. Australian business men seem very eager for the opening of trade with Soviet Russia. The Australian Consul General intends to issue a monthly paper, to be called *Soviet Russia*, in order to keep the people of Australia informed concerning the progress of events in Russia.

THE RED INDUSTRIAL ARMY

By March 17-18, 85 locomotives and 618 freight cars had been restored by the reserve army; by March 20-21, it has restored 90 locomotives and 662 freight cars. The railroad workers from now on have made a voluntary addition of two hours to their working day. In Petrograd on March 21, "Transportation Week" began. In all enterprises relating in any way to transportation, the working day will be lengthened in order to get the domestic fleet into the best condition for the resumption of inland navigation.

* Primary Schools.

** Secondary Schools.

of Russia was very glad to see the new attitude of the Italian Government. The Russian Government is ready to give the greatest consideration to this new attitude forgetting differences of the past.

The Syndicalist Action of the Russian Workers and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro

The C. G. L. has received the following telegram from the Syndicalist Workers of Soviet Russia:

"The All-Russian Congress of Russian Syndicalist Workers will open April 5, at Moscow. Leaders and C. G. L.s of other countries are fraternally invited to send delegates."

FREDERICK STROM,
(Representative of the Soviet
Republic at Stockholm)

The reply sent by the C. G. L. is:

"Having received your invitation to the All-Russian Congress too late, we advise you that next April, the commissions representing the C. G. L., the Socialist Party, and the Cooperatives will leave for Moscow."

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN BELGIUM

In *De Tribune*, a journal of the Dutch Communist Party, Adolph Borgers of Antwerp speaks of a visit which he made to the colony at Wartel in the northern part of Belgium where 900 Russian soldiers are interned who were on the western front in September, 1917, when the Bolshevik movement triumphantly seized the power in Russia. They were then removed as if they were infected, and imprisoned in French camps where they suffered every possible imaginable mistreatment.

In Belgium where they have been awaiting (and for how long will they still wait?) the moment of the

return to their own country, they have been well treated, in the material sense, and have even enjoyed a certain degree of liberty, being allowed to take walks within a radius of three kilometres. But they are closely watched in order that no correct news from the outside world could reach them and that they may remain ignorant of what is really happening in Russia; they are in contact with ignorant peasants who have not the slightest idea of international politics. Care has been taken to prevent all newspapers except bourgeois newspapers from reaching them, and the result is that they read only false news on Russia. Of course it has been suggested to them that they enter the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin and Yudenich "in order to deliver their country from tyranny," but they have not been compelled to enter these armies. Gendarmes, soldiers, policemen, created a hermetically sealed wall around these unfortunates and they cannot cross it without being examined and closely watched.

Thus, the Belgian Government, although it includes a number of Socialist ministers, consents to be made a servant of world capitalism in its struggle with the new Socialist society.

IMAGINATION IN THE PRESS

News writers are too often inclined to write in the vernacular. Sometimes, to one who knows the facts, their efforts to cloak with mystery, which is one of their own phrases, any person ever suspected of being a "Bolshevik" are quite amusing. It will be recalled that Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is a representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States. It may also be remembered that he has been "slated," as the papers have it, for deportation a few times. He therefore becomes legitimate prey for the distributors of mystery. One day last week he returned to New York City from Washington, accompanied by Gregory Weinstein and Santeri Nuorteva, two of his assistants. They came as any other persons come from Washington, apparently without any attempt to conceal themselves, and frankly with the intention of transacting business at their New York office, where any of them might have found that day. And yet a New York paper had it that the Department of Justice had announced their coming, which coming was written down as "suddenly appeared," and added that they had "as suddenly dropped from sight again." And yet some people say that American news writers have no imagination.—*Christian Science Monitor*, May 6, 1920.

Two Months on a Death Train

(Continued from a Previous Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

October 11. We are told that again some men made their escape last night. Today "government" bread was distributed to us—for the first time since we left Samara. They promise to give us dinner. It is difficult to say which we need most—food, fresh air or cleanliness: All of these things we miss badly and one cannot take the place of the other. The filth is indescribable: 35 women in one car! No water for washing purposes. Other conveniences like lavatories, etc., are out of the question; there never were such things on freight cars . . . Neither are there any pails to hold water or anything to sweep the filth out—nothing, though legally they are compelled to furnish all these things.

We have nothing to eat and nothing to keep us

warm. I feel that my mind becomes more and more occupied with the physical inconveniences so that the moral discomforts become of little importance. I am becoming convinced of the truth of the saying: "A sound mind in a sound body."

I long for almost no one, I even do not long for home. I am nearly always thinking of eating, of washing, of sleeping on clean linen, etc., and of being alone at least for one hour a day . . . I even lack the energy to strive hard for my freedom, but I do wish to be alone. This, it seems, is my greatest desire now.

October 12. Today we were fed at the eating-place of the station in Ufa. The weather was very nice. As soon as we were out in the fresh air I forgot all my misery. I was instilled with

one enters the car and calls the nun, Miss Madison, for an "examination" . . .

We all protested against this "examination" in the middle of the night. She shall not go. We won't let her. But a rifle and a revolver were pointed at us immediately . . . Miss Madison, weeping and shaking like a leaf, wrapped herself in her large shawl and left the car . . .

In about half an hour she was brought back by Officer Kolotuchen . . . It turned out that the officer who had taken her away was the commander of the train—Lieutenant Ivanov. He was leading her to his car when they were met by Kolotuchen who forcibly took her for himself . . .

Ivanov soon came to our car. Other officers had congregated and a dispute arose between Ivanov and Kolotuchen. The former threatened to blow our car into pieces, to annihilate the entire train . . . and so it continued until we began to prepare for death.

Suddenly we heard someone approach and we caught the name of Samara in his information given to the others. We strain our ears and learn that somebody had brought the report that Samara had been recaptured by the Czecho-Slovaks or the "Peoples Army" and that the train would be returned to Samara . . . And that is the way our lives were saved that horrible night . . .

October 17. Arrived in Petropavlovsk. I have never been in Siberia. How I would like to see the cities we were passing, but we are behind bars . . . I have not eaten for 24 hours almost. The watchman informed me that about 50 men who were alleged "Bolsheviks" were segregated in a car by themselves and that they are to be shot . . . My heart is heavy . . .

Evening. We began moving ahead. Bright night. Snow was falling. After two hours' ride the train halted . . . As usual we ran for the "windows" (holes in the wall). We saw the guards rushing back and forth . . . they were busy around the cars . . . and a little later we beheld a few score

of men being led by the guards to a field on the left side of our train. Several minutes later a shot rang out . . . Ozolin then finished by firing his revolver into the dead bodies . . .

October 18, evening. Just arrived in Omsk. It is rumored that this is as far as we shall go. Our strength is gone . . . We are despairing . . . and do not want to live any longer . . . I cannot endure such horrible crimes . . . Since last night I feel as if my life had ended . . .

October 19, morning. We have had no food for three days . . . We were awakened at two o'clock in the morning to have dinner . . . I felt like spitting into their faces. Such humiliation, such mockery! . . . To be called to eat in the middle of the night after three days' starvation! . . . I felt nothing but contempt for them and I could not eat. I wanted to destroy everything, especially myself.

It was busy around the train. Bread and soup were distributed and a couple of hours later when we had again fallen asleep they brought us mush. I shall never forget this meal . . . It seemed that they could not even endure the thought of having allowed us to eat in peace. But our lives they must support so they give us midnight meals and —"choke yourselves."

We are now on the road from Omsk to Novo-Nikolaievsk. We are moving rapidly today. Where to?

It is getting real winter. We are freezing and have no stove. We are lying on the floor. At night it is not quite so bad for we lie close together and it keeps us warm. True, this method is not hygienic, but it is high time to forget hygiene . . . Many of us have sold our clothes for a piece of bread and these are now suffering from the cold.

During the day they again shot into some car and wounded a few. In this pastime Lieutenant Kunak distinguishes himself above all other officers . . . He very much likes to shoot people.

SOVIET RUSSIA

will contain in its next issue, among other interesting features, the following:

1. Diplomatic correspondence between Soviet Russia and Poland (March-April, 1920).
2. The All-Russian Economic Center of Municipal and Factory Consumers' Societies.
3. *Maxim Gorky*, Two Cultures (just received from Russia).
4. *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*, Weekly Military Review.

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it was 242,335 rubles 39 kopecs, whereas the turnover equalled a sum of 21-29 millions of rubles. The financial aid which had been afforded by the Moscow Food Committee, namely a sum of one and a half millions, and a credit of 100,000 rubles by the Moscow National Bank and advances paid by the societies against goods of about 130,000 rubles, was of course not sufficient for such a large turnover. For this reason, the association opened a banking department which started its business by accepting deposits and issuing letters of credit. It is interesting to note that the provincial cooperatives, especially the agricultural societies, made great use of the acceptance of these deposits, since the war. In organizing the banking department, not only the material independence of the association was aimed at, but also the creation of a Workers' Bank.

Since the reorganization of the association into the "Centrosection," and the completely new relations which exist between the cooperative societies and the State authority, the financial position of the cooperative combine has undergone a change. The "Centrosection" is at present the State organ for distribution, and as such, is financed by the state which allows it a wide credit. Besides this it is proposed to introduce the payment of obligatory advances by the members of cooperative societies against goods stored for distribution. In its turn, "the Centrosection" facilitates the financing of all its cooperative societies by applying for credit for them to the Cooperative Department of the Central Administration of the National Bank, after careful verifications of all necessary figures.

V.

All the central cultural-educational work car-

ried on by the workers' cooperatives, such as instructions on questions of cooperative structure, in general, constructive administration, agitation, and propaganda of cooperatives, organization of cooperatives, publication, arrangement of lectures, courses, organization of clubs, kindergartens, libraries, etc., has been completely transferred to the All-Russian Council of Workers' Cooperatives which, as already stated, was founded in 1917 with a view to uniting the workers' cooperatives. It is of course possible that, under the new conditions, it will be made one with the economic center, namely the "Centrosection."

As stated already, the Soviet authorities have transferred the whole work of distribution into the hands of the people themselves in the person of their cooperative apparatus. Only the general supervision and administration remains to be done by the state organs. In this manner the task of the cooperatives has become still more complicated. If, previously, the cooperative societies were responsible only for the requirements of its members, today the Center-union, and together with it the "Centrosection," is responsible, as the state apparatus for distribution, for the satisfaction of all the daily requirements of the whole population. In order to solve this task in the spirit of communist principles, not only is serious and capable work required, but also complete permeation of the basis of socialist construction.

It is in virtue of this that the place given to workers' cooperatives, in spite of the amalgamation of the whole cooperative apparatus in the Center-union, is somewhat particularized: the amalgamation of the workers' cooperatives will facilitate the work of bringing the remaining cooperatives into the channels of Socialism.

Leonid B. Krassin, Commissar for Means of Communication

Krassin is a native of Siberia and was born in 1870. He entered the Petrograd Technological Institute from which he was expelled three years later for participation in student mutinies.

In 1892 Krassin served in the army, where he was arrested in connection with the case of the social-democrat M. I. Brussenev, who was accused of party propaganda among the workers in the shops of the Moscow-Brest Railway. The hearing of this case lasted until December, 1894, and in the meantime Krassin succeeded in leaving the Tagansk jail, where he was imprisoned. However, shortly after this he was imprisoned in Voronezh for a while. Later on, by the order of Czar Nicholas II, he was expelled from the army and sent to Siberia.

During his stay in Irkutsk Krassin worked as a master mechanic, and later on as mechanical engineer in the construction of the Siberian railroad. In the latter capacity he obtained permission to complete his education; not in Petrograd, however,

but in Kharkov. But again, due to his participation in student uprisings, he was expelled from the Kharkov Technical Institute (in 1898). After that he directed the construction of the railroad "Petersburg-Viatka." In 1899 he participated in the construction of the Trans-Baikal Railway.

In the same year he returned to the Kharkov Technological Institute, from which he was again expelled. He then went to Baku, working there at the construction of the central electric station, and performing the duty of supervisor of the entire enterprise from 1900 to 1904. During this entire period he actively participated in the organization of illegal printing-shops for the publishing of "Iskra," which printing-shops later became the shops of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. These printing shops were in existence during the Revolution of 1905, at which time they were transferred to Petersburg, where they later became part of the printing shop where the Bolshevik newspaper

cussion to accept whatever place the Polish Government might indicate. Soviet Russia is not a vanquished country to whom the conquerors may dictate their wishes. The suggestion of a place for the parleys by the Polish Government cannot be regarded as a final decision without the consent of the Soviet Government.

Second. Moreover the Polish Government has not replied to our armistice proposal and to our suggestion to meet in Esthonia, except by a refusal to continue conversations with regard to the place of the parleys. Thus the Polish Government in the course of a purely formal and incidental exchange of questions has sought from the outset to obtain a capitulation of the Soviet Government. Furthermore, while the text of the note of the Soviet Government was not published by the Polish Government, the official Polish press takes the liberty, in connection with this note, which contains only a proposal for a different place of meeting and the conclusion of an armistice, to engage in a series of extraordinarily violent attacks, in a tone without precedent in any country; attacking the persons of those directing the Soviet Government, the Polish press announces the refusal of the Polish Government to conclude a general armistice. These are facts which cannot be ignored.

Third. While all sorts of perfidious plans have been attributed to the Soviet Government because of the proposition, it is in truth so natural that it should speak of peace that even a part of the Polish press, for example, the *Robotnik* itself, expressed the necessity of peace in a manner similar to that of the Soviet Government, and that at an earlier time.

Fourth. In the official communication sent by radio by the Polish Government, we find mentioned that the Polish Government has categorically decided to refrain from every aggressive action during the parleys. "The Polish Government declares that the command of the army would not complicate the negotiations by aggressive actions," while in a preceding note, to which reference is made, there is a vague remark on the past and future intentions of the Polish Command, as follows: "It has not had and has not now any intention to embarrass the peace negotiations by aggressive military actions." In the same communication the Polish Government declared itself ready to continue the parleys for the convocation of a Russian-Polish peace conference.

Fifth. The Soviet Government on its side is disposed to continue the conversations, interrupted by the preceding ultimatum of the Polish Government, and its peaceable intentions have not changed. All alleged complications created by the so-called aggressive intentions of Soviet Russia are nothing but deliberate inventions. Many times the Polish press itself has admitted that the offensives of the Polish troops were not caused by Russian offensives, but represented only concentrations of troops. In truth, there have lately been on the Polish front only combats of secondary importance, strictly local, and the movements undertaken by the Red troops were nothing but a reply to aggressive actions of the Polish troops and never had any other character than that of defensive operations.

Sixth. The Polish Government, in its last communication, declares itself ready to continue the parleys without mentioning the ultimatum on the question of the place. The Soviet Government takes notice of the informal, yet categorical promise contained in the last communique, to refrain from any aggressive action during the negotiations. The Soviet Government, on its side, is animated with the desire of finding, in regard to the question of the place for the parleys, a settlement equally acceptable to both parties. Not being able to accept Borisov or any other locality on the front line, or in proximity to this line, the Soviet Government would consent to engage in negotiations, for example, at Grodno or at Bielostok, provided that the

delegations would be assured there the customary and indispensable technical facilities.

Seventh. The Soviet Government considers it probable that a belligerent would not refuse to undertake negotiations on its own territory, and in places that would offer no cause for concern from the standpoint of any considerations of a so-called internal-political nature.

PETLURA IN WARSAW.

In the newspaper *Commune*, C. Markatun, a member of the Ukrainian National Committee in Paris, characterizes Petlura's stay in Warsaw as follows:

At the end of November, 1919, Mr. Petlura and his friends came to Warsaw. Petlura bought a beautiful villa for 300,000 Polish marks in the Alley of Roses, House No. 6. His friends stopped at Saxon Hotel, which was considered the best in Warsaw.

The whole crowd lived in luxury, and spent their stolen money very lavishly. That's how the Government of Ukraine lived in Warsaw!

Petlura and his aides were engaged in various intrigues, entertained Polish diplomats, and Petlura himself had the honor of having the President of the Polish Republic, Pilsudski, to dinner at his home.

Petlura, by his policy at Warsaw, appears to wish to be considered as the only man, in whose power it is to determine Ukraine's attitude towards Poland for the future.

He had no choice but to offer to Poland an Ukrainian mandatory and the organization of a Polish administration in Ukraine for the period of 25 years. The newspapers of Warsaw clearly state, that Gen. Pilsudski consented to this plan and that the Polish Commissar, Gen. Minkevich, was assigned to Volhynia and Podolia. At the same time, upon Petlura's authorization, a special Ukrainian regiment is being organized in Poland under the command of Udovichenko, who was supposed to drive the "Muscovite hordes" from Ukraine.

That's how Petlura is disposing of Ukraine. The people and the Ukrainian army think differently. The Ukrainian army, numbering 5,000 to 10,000 at the end of November, 1919, has joined the Bolsheviks. Even Pavlenko, who, only a short time ago, was a disciple of Petlura's, is fighting in behalf of the Bolsheviks at Kiev.

It is not clear what power Petlura and Count Tishkevich represent at Paris. However, they are preaching holy crusades against Moscow by the 40,000,000 "Ukrainian people."

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would be crushed by the inexorable law of progress. In 1789, the revolution against the divine right of kings could not be stopped, and there are many who feel that in our own day the revolution against the divine right of property cannot be permanently checked. He who shivers at that last sentence should consider the adjective qualifying "right."

But, after all, why magnify the numbers of those killed and the enormity of the crime of those causing their death, when the thing has happened because humanity was on the march? 'Social statistics show us that more babies die from lack of milk every year in the United States than the total number of persons killed in the Reign of Terror in France and the Red Terror in Russia combined. Yet this fact does not stir the complacency with which most people drink a glass of milk. Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, when chided for his support of the French Revolution, said that while he deplored its excesses, "Rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated; were there but an Adam and Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it is now."

Were one to ask the average person, with some knowledge of history, the probable number of those killed during the troublesome times of the French Revolution the answer received would generally be, "Oh! tens of thousands." Such is the common opinion. But historical students have investigated that question and the judgment of the best scholarship is about ten thousand. From the daily papers and most magazines, one would gather that the Bolsheviks had killed, or rather massacred, somewhere near a million of their opponents since the November revolution placed them in power. Evidence is not lacking, to those who have tried to find out the truth about Russia, that history will reduce the horrors attributed to the Reds in about the same proportion that it has in the case of the French Revolution.*

Not only were the initial changes in the governments of the two countries under consideration acceptable to some of the privileged classes of those countries, but likewise to the same classes in other countries already on the road toward democracy. Many well-known men in public life in England were friends of the French Revolution, while in the United States the opposition political party, numbering among its members Jefferson and Madison, was called by its opponents the "French Party." Again the historical parallel between France and Russia runs true. The Kerensky regime was welcomed by liberal opinion in England, while the United States received an ambassador from that government—an ambassador still recognized,—three years after the disappearance of the government accrediting him.

As long as the ruling class of England thought that the revolution in France was going to be an imitation of their own of a century earlier, they

welcomed and aided it, but when it became clear that it was to be a great social leveling, it was assailed from every side. Edmund Burke's *Reflections* (1790) might well be called the manifesto of the reaction. When the Kerensky regime was replaced by that of Lenin, exactly the same change took place in public opinion in England and in the United States. The Russian Revolution had at first been hailed as bringing one more great nation under the beneficent system of democracy. But it suddenly developed a tendency to go farther along the road of democratic development than had those nations which had been longer on the way. No newcomer in the family of democratic nations could be allowed to explore this dangerous path. As far as the rest of the world was concerned, it had better remain a despotic monarchy. Of course, no nation through its official spokesmen ever said the above, but the treatment of Soviet Russia by England and certain other countries can be explained on no other reasonable basis.

The ostensible reason in 1790, as well as in 1917, for this change of attitude, was that some things most dear and sacred to humanity were threatened. Burke's great pronouncement is full of alarm that the "Church and Constitution" were endangered and that all good Englishmen must unite to save these from the peril of "new theories." In our own time, press, pulpit, and public rostrum have resounded with the warning to beware of the dangerous "new theories" which would undermine religion, overthrow the family, and wreck civilization. To the student of social history, these warnings have had such a familiar ring that they have sounded more like a phonographic record than the utterances of statesmen and prophets.

The change in attitude, referred to above, was, in both cases, soon followed by open interference in the affairs of the revolutionary country. The *Reflections* were hailed with praise by the "benevolent despots," while in our own time the declaration of great idealists that we would never deal with men on whose hands was human blood was applauded by every reactionary in Europe and America. Allied armies at Archangel and in Siberia have waged a war that did not have even the moral foundation of a legal declaration. It has been sufficient defense of this undeclared war for statesmen to say that their troops were in Russia to aid in the establishment of law and order. One wonders whether these statesmen ever read the proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the allied troops in France, issued on July 25, 1792, in which he declared his only aim was "—to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France and to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar."

There were, however, in England in 1790 some perverse people who continued to support and believe in the revolution across the channel despite its excesses. Likewise there have been those in England and the United States who have contended that the government under Lenin was an

* It is probable that the so-called "Red Terror" has not had more than about eight thousand victims.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

Radios

RUSSIAN TRANSPORTATION BETTER

(Moscow wireless message late in April.)

Siberia was left by Kolchak in a condition of complete disorganization as far as railroad and rolling stock was concerned. Practically all the material, even in the shops of the Omak government, was taken away and destroyed by the Whites. Of the 1,054 locomotives which the Soviet Government took over in Siberia, only 329 were in usable condition. A special expedition was sent out by the Commissariat for Means of Communications, in order to work for an improvement of conditions. On March 1, 50 of the locomotives had already been repaired, and by April 1, 557 were again in good condition. It is calculated that by May 1, 683 locomotives will be available, thanks to the energetic measures that have been taken, and by June 1 there will be 730. Of these, 200 locomotives, with 200 full trains, loaded with 4,000,000 poods of foodstuffs, will be sent to Central Russia.

UKRAINIAN RAILROADS.

At the liberation of Yekaterinoslav, work had been stopped in almost all shops occupied in preparing and repairing railway material. Practically all locomotives, 883 in number, were useless. Railway bridges were destroyed, railway tracks and telegraph wires torn up, and the personnel had been decimated by typhus. The Soviet power immediately began the work for the reestablishment of the railway system. The work of repair on the railway bridge over the Dnieper is being carried on night and day with three shifts of workers, all together, 1,500 men. This work will be completed in two or three months. The railway traffic from February 10 to March 10 increased 30 per cent. The number of "sick" locomotives decreased perceptibly in the same period. Railway traffic is now in full operation, and it is hoped that in the course of two months this railway system will be completely restored, and in condition to take care of all necessary postal, freight and passenger traffic.

On the Perm railway line, the percentage of unavailable locomotives has gone down from 65 to 47. In the month of April, 56 additional locomotives will be put into practicable condition.

NORWAY AND SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, April 27.—People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has expressed to the Norwegian Commissar for Foreign Affairs the most heartfelt appreciation of the Soviet Government for the readiness expressed in its willingness to equip an expedition to rescue the Russian ice-breaker *Solovi Budimirovich*, which is adrift in the Arctic Sea, and simultaneously states that the Russian Soviet Government is appropriating a credit of 300,000 crowns to be remitted to the Norwegian Government to assist in its work.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA

Moscow, April 24.—In the peace negotiations between Latvia and Soviet Russia, the Chairman of the Lettish Delegation has presented a new proposition concerning the regulation of the boundary question. In this proposal the incorporation is demanded of parts of the Governments of Pskov, Ostrov, Sebez and Drissa, with Latvia. In other matters, the Lettish Government is ready to fix the boundary in accordance with the proposition of the Russian Delegation.

The fourth session of the peace conference between Russia and Latvia treated the proposed boundaries between the two countries. Yoffe pointed out that in consequence of the declarations of the Lettish Government, the districts of Dvinsk, Rezhitsa and Lutsin are to go to Latvia, and Sebez, Drissa or some part of the Government of Pskov was not to be added. Statistics show that the population in the latter province consist of as much as 99 per cent Russians. The Lettish Delegation is therefore demanding the separation from Russia of a territory with a population of 207,000 people, of which only 1,600 are Letts. Such demands are dictated exclusively by considerations of aggression and strategy and are entirely unjustified in view of the demand for self-determination of nations. The boundary is already too far to the east as far as the government of Pskov and Ostrov are concerned. As for Lutsin, OPOCHKA, Sebez and Drissa, they are inhabited exclusively by Russians, therefore the Soviet Government is obliged to issue all proclamations to these populations in the Russian language as none of them understand Lettish. Territorial questions are left with a commission which has two sessions each day.

Moscow, April 28.—The Commission appointed by the Russian-Lettish peace conference to treat boundary questions began its work on April 22. With the aid of statistical material and economic data, together with the report submitted by the Lettish Delegation to the peace conference at Versailles, in accordance with which Latvia consisted only of the three districts of Lutsin, Rezhitsa and Dvinsk, the Russian Delegation called attention to the contents of the exorbitant demands made by the Lettish Delegation in the question of the districts of Drissa, Sebez and OPOCHKA. However, recognizing the immense importance to Latvia of a railroad connection between Latvia and Livonia, and eager to aid in remedying the economic distress which prevails among the population, the Russians in the Commission consented to have Latvia obtain a way to the Pytalovo Railroad.

At the conclusion of the second session of the Commission, the representatives in the Lettish Delegation moved an adjournment in order to be able to confer with their government. After an adjournment of two days, and after a motion, by

for the coming winter, to guard against the cold and hunger. We must not allow the possibility of such a winter. In the course of the summer, we must provide so well, that we shall not have a repetition of the past winter. We must therefore proceed to work in such a way that we shall all have as much as possible, not only bread, but clothing, meat, and books as well. Communism does not mean that its followers must live on pleasant words. We must be willing to sacrifice much for the cause, oftentimes, even life itself. But Communism does not properly mean a state of poverty, but a state of well-being. We do not wish to live in Communist poverty, however, but we desire to live in Communist wealth. Warmth, light, knowledge, all the attainments of culture—that is what we must gain for all. Heretofore, only a handful of parasites attained these things; they were free, they enjoyed everything, at the expense of the masses. Now the proletariat has risen as the great leader and fighter, he does not fight alone now, as Sidor, Ivan, or Peter, for

himself alone, and against every one. He is not fighting any one. The working classes now desire through their united efforts, to save all those capable of labor from suffering and destruction. They have already tested their strength. They have won the war against world capitalism. They have learnt that salvation lies not in thieving and speculation, but in united labor alone.

Labor Week will bring the best fighting blood to the front of the battle against economic ruin. Our party has a membership of 600,000; the unions have 3,000,000. If the 600,000 Communists remain at their posts during Labor Week, millions of non-partizans, but honest workmen nevertheless, will follow their example.

Following Labor Week, we shall organize a grand demonstration in labor for the world—the All-Russian Sabbath on the First of May. The Communists are the flower of the working-class. Much depends on them. The party of the Communist Revolution is summoning them to its banners.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

THE name Budenny, the brilliant commander of the Soviet cavalry, which was mentioned on several occasions during the operations against Denikin, appears again in the recent accounts of Soviet victories over the Poles. This audacious and talented leader is a product of the Revolution. Comrade Budenny does not belong to the family of the officers of the former Russian army of the Czar. As far as we can learn, he rose from the ranks of the Don Cossacks, joining the Bolsheviks at the beginning of the Revolution. He is now to be considered among the foremost tacticians of the Red Army.

The cavalry raids of Denikin's Generals, Mamontov and Shkuro, were captured by the brilliant action of the newly created Red cavalry and Budenny was chiefly responsible for the failure of the daring movements of the White generals. The recent operation of Budenny's cavalry between the Dnieper and the Dniester is of great strategical significance. He has at his rear the important Kiev-Mohilev (Podolski) railway line, extending parallel along the battle line, which permits Budenny to regroup his forces at any selected point, thus assuring the success of his tactics.

It appears that Budenny's plan was to accomplish an enveloping movement with his right wing, while his left flank was ordered to advance northward on Kamenetz-Podolsk along the Dniester. At the same time a special reserve army with its base in Odessa watches Rumania, thus protecting the operation of Budenny.

Since the beginning of the general Russian offensive which was particularly successful in Lithuania and White Russia as well as in Ukraine, the

Russians have met a most vigorous resistance in the Kiev region. The Poles had concentrated strong forces there and tried by all means to hold Kiev, the fall of which was of disastrous political consequence. On the other hand, the Russian Headquarter Staff had decided to recapture Kiev by means of skillful manoeuvres with the least possible expenditure of men. Budenny was ordered to carry out this plan. In order to accomplish it he had to cut the railway communications west of Kiev, namely, the three railroads: Kiev-Zhmerinka-Mohilev, Kiev-Zhitomir, and Kiev-Kovel. After unsuccessful attempts to break through the Polish front, Budenny succeeded only in capturing an important sector in Tarastcha region, and appears to have reported that without a considerable reinforcement, there was little probability of recapturing Kiev from the Poles.

Strong reinforcements were sent and Budenny was ordered to begin his attack simultaneously with the general attack planned by the Headquarters Staff on the other sectors of the front.

Budenny then accomplished a most remarkable manoeuvre with his cavalry. On the night of June 9, a Red cavalry detachment about 5,000 strong suddenly attacked the Poles in the center of their battle line and broke through to the west of Belaya Tzerkov on the Fastovo Zvenigorod railway. There the Red cavalry split into three groups; one moving northwest of Berdichev and another in a northerly direction on Fastov, cutting in two places the southernmost of the three railway lines to Kiev, while the center column rode on Zhitomir, north of Berdichev. It must be remembered that through Zhitomir runs the central of the three

lines of communication with Kiev. This brilliant movement was accomplished with such rapidity and boldness that the Polish General Staff became aware of what had happened only when Budenny's cavalry had already captured Zhitomir. The following day the three victorious detachments pushed north in order to cut the only remaining line to Kiev at Korostychev.

In spite of all efforts to stop their advance and in spite of the energetic attack of the Polish air-men, the Russians succeeded in holding the occupied points until their infantry came up and made a firm stand.

Finally Kiev, with all its garrison and a considerable army in the field in that region, was encircled by the Russians. A glance at the map shows that no escape was possible for the Polish troops and especially for their infantry and artillery. According to an *Associated Press* dispatch from Warsaw on June 13, "The evacuation of Kiev has been completed, the Poles withdrawing to the region of Zhitomir after destroying the bridges over the Dnieper." The American Red Cross workers, according to the latest accounts, had made preparations to evacuate Kiev with the army. A statement from Moscow, however, tells us that Zhitomir was captured by the Reds on June 11, and all the communications of Kiev with the rear cut off by Budenny's men.

When it became known that the Russians were already moving west of Kiev from Borodianka station along the Kiev-Korostien railroad, being masters of that line in its Teterev sector, the Russian infantry crossed the Dnieper and entered the city, partially from the east and partially from the south, after having completely routed the Poles at Vassilkov, twenty-five miles south of Kiev. The Poles, the official dispatches say, have blown up the beautiful Vladimir Cathedral, the railway station and the electric power station, leaving the city crippled in the face of a ravaging epidemic.

If the Polish report about the evacuation of Kiev is correct, there is no probability that the troops which left the town can have escaped an encounter, and a very unpleasant one, with Budenny's army.

I believe that a complete annihilation of the Polish army took place in this part of the theatre of war, an end which I predicted long ago.

In an earlier article, when everyone was anxious to know why the Soviet General Staff delayed the capture of Kiev, I firmly stated that Kiev would be abandoned by the Poles as quickly as it was taken. It was clear that in the presence of enveloping movement from the south, as well as from the north, the Poles, after having been thrown back across the Dvina, Berezina and Dnieper rivers, could not hold Kiev any longer and would be forced to withdraw without a battle. They might have done so earlier in safety. Now I believe they waited too long.

There is no news from the Polish front north of the Pripet Marshes, but all signs indicate that in the Vilno and Minsk regions the enemy was

severely beaten. There can be no doubt that the Polish adventure is nearing its climax.

The situation in the Crimea is not worthy of any attention. Wrangel's White Army is ineffectively making use of the aeroplanes and tanks so generously supplied to Denikin's successor by England and her allies. It can be said with confidence that when these supplies attain to any considerable amount the Reds will take them. At present it is not worth while. General Wrangel, on a small scale, is repeating the performance of Denikin. His career will end in similar fashion. The Moscow wireless forecasts the end: "In the Crimea, after three days' fighting, we have taken 3,000 prisoners" (*N. Y. Times*, June 14).

In the meantime, the situation in the Middle East becomes more and more desperate for the imperialists. England at last was forced to evacuate the port of Batum, and regretfully withdrew from the pleasant odor of Caucasian oil. The Persian affair worries Great Britain immensely. Turkey grows stronger every day and promises to break out in a movement which we have long foreseen.

OFFICERS' AMNESTY

The following notice, says the Moscow wireless, has been issued by the Council of People's Commissaries to all former Russian officers:

The attack of Poland on Russia has finally shown, even to politically-backward elements of the country, that the struggle of the White Guard generals under the wary cry of "United and Indivisible Russia," was, and remains, of assistance in despoiling and enslaving the Russian workers and under the influence of this new lesson, among that part of the former Czarist officers who still remain in the White Guard lager has been aroused a desire to break with this treacherous and anti-popular policy of Denikin and Wrangel, and to place themselves at the disposal of the Soviet Power in the struggle for the liberation and independence of the working Russian people.

According to information at the disposal of the Soviet Government, the desire of the former officers to enter upon the path of complete subordination to the Workers' and Peasants' Government has been paralyzed in many cases by fear of responsibility for crimes committed in the past against the Russian people.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government, therefore, considers it essential and timely to declare that all former officers, who in one or other form will assist in liquidating as quickly as possible those White Guard armies still remaining in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and in Siberia, and thus enlighten and accelerate the victory of Workers' and Peasants' Russia over Poland, will be freed from all responsibility for those actions which they committed while serving in White Guard armies under Wrangel, Denikin, Kolchak, Semionov and others.

LENIN,
TROTSKY,
KURSKY.

От оперативного Штаба Советских войск.

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ

к населению Хабаровского и Иманского районов.

ТОВАРИЩИ и ГРАЖДАНЕ!

Предательским ударом, ведя мирные переговоры, говоря об эвакуации своих войск с Дальнего Востока, правительство Японии предполагало лишить возрождающуюся единую Советскую Россию опоры красной армии. План не удался. Советские войска выведены из ловушки и концентрируются для борьбы с восточным хищником. Маски сорваны. То, что ожидалось с первых дней ликвидации монархической реакции, то чего мы всеми силами старались избежать, совершилось. Перед нами стоит необходимость открытой борьбы с японскими империалистами. Эта ясность создавшегося положения встречается населением с удовлетворением. Да и нельзя было верить в искренность японского авторитета и тяжкое было время ожидать предательского удара в спину революционных войск и возмущающего народа. Добытая неимоверными усилиями Свобода и независимость единой Родины Советской России, не может быть отдана на порабощение иноземцам и расхищение богатств не будет допущено. Мы, представители рабочих, крестьянских и революционных армий заявляем: мы принимаем брошенный нам вызов. Длинный и кровавый будет путь японских грабителей к народному достоянию. Им предстоит устлать его трупами всего сельского и городского населения Дальнего Востока, Западной Сибири и всей России.

Товарищи и граждане! К вам наше слово. Поменьше верьте всяким вздорным слухам, не поддавайтесь организованной провокации нашего врага и немедленно организуйте сопротивление неприятелю. Организуйтесь в отряды, вливайтесь в ряды регулярной армии, собирайте оружие и провиант, сообщайте штабу все что касается положения японцев и их действий, мы призываем все население исполнить свой гражданский долг, а мы почерпнем силы выдержать последнюю борьбу, осязая единение трудящихся всей России и борющихся народных масс всего мира за одни с нами цели,

Вперед! За единую Российскую советскую федеративную социалистическую республику, за укрепление навсегда, обогрешенного священной кровью павших борцов, красного знамени, пусть перед лицом внешнего врага не будет в наших рядах предателей Родины из лиц иных с нами убеждений.

К работе товарищи и граждане, к борьбе за независимость и свободу.

8 апреля 1920 г. Командвойск ПЕВЗNER.
Окрестности Хабаровска.

Тов. председателя Исполкома ЗАЛУЦКИЙ.

Начальник гарнизона ХРЕНОВ.

Политич. уполном. МЕТЦ.

Заведывающий информационным отделом МУЧНИК.

Eradication of Illiteracy in Cherepovetz

By F. CHUCHIN.

[The following article is a translation from "Pravda," Moscow, of April 17, 1920.]

THE months of February and March were entirely devoted to the preliminary work necessary in insuring the success of the general campaign to do away with illiteracy which it was decided to bring to an end by January next.

During those two months a census of the entire population of the province was taken in accordance with a uniform plan, classifying them into illiterates, literates, public school, and high school graduates, etc.

In each of the five districts of the province, three-day conferences were held, in accordance with a definite program, for the instruction of teachers of the first and second grade schools. As many as 350 teachers attended these conferences, each county having sent two.

The latter, upon their return, called two-day county conferences of all the teachers in their county, rendering reports on the work performed by the district conferences. Thus the teaching staff of all counties in the province attended these conferences.

For immediate work in eradicating illiteracy among the population of the province, 10,000 young men and women—graduates of the elementary or higher schools were mobilized for compulsory service, and upon the completion of a three-weeks' special course of instruction, formed the ranks of the new teaching staff.

Professional teachers are, as a rule, assigned as instructors in the campaign to abolish illiteracy and are utilized to prepare new teachers. For the same purpose thirty-six students of the People's Institute of Education were mobilized, and after

three days of special preparation were assigned throughout the province as inspecting instructors for the Provincial Department of Education.

With a view to bringing about a more systematic, uniform and speedy eradication of illiteracy in the counties, districts, and throughout the province, extraordinary committees of three are being formed by the local offices of the People's Commissariat of Education, composed of representatives of the Department of Education, the Executive Committee and the party organizations. Upon these committees rests all the responsibility for the successful and prompt execution of the work of doing away with illiteracy.

From April 1 to May 15, 10,000 schools for illiterates were functioning in the province. The schools are open for two hours daily, including holidays. The new teaching staff comes from the ranks of the laboring masses.

From May 15 to October 1, the attendance at these schools is compulsory on Sunday only, but it is desirable that students attend them also on other holidays lest they forget what they have learned.

From October 1 to the end of the school year, the schools will be open as usual for two hours daily until the entire course has been completed.—180 study periods of one hour each.

By the end of the year, illiteracy will be eradicated in the government of Cherepovetz, and the entire population of all five districts of that province will be literate, unless some unforeseen or extraordinary circumstances intervene.

THE SOVIET ELECTIONS AT KRASNOYARSK

Moscow, May 20.—Newspapers appearing at Krasnoyarsk contain a report on the renewed prosperity of the city under the Soviet regime. In April the first meeting of the Soviet took place at Krasnoyarsk. The Executive Committee was elected in accordance with the list drawn up by the Communist faction. Two days later the first plenary session was held with the trade union Soviet in the Government of Krasnoyarsk. During the 73 days this Soviet has existed, it has succeeded in organizing five unions with nearly 27,000 members, and 79 new factory committees, and in issuing a number of regulations for the organizations, as well as establishing Workers' Courts.

A hydrographic expedition is engaged in investigating the possibilities of utilizing the Yenisei for river traffic, and of creating a waterway from the mouth of the river in the northern Arctic sea to the mouth of the river Ob. A statistical central institute for Siberia has also been established.

TROTSKY WARNS AGAINST POLISH SPIES

Moscow, May 17, Rosta.—Trotsky has issued a proclamation in which he says:

"In order to succeed in their dastardly attack on the Soviet power Poland has sent out spies who are active in the Soviet institutions where they attempt to obtain data with all the means at their disposal concerning circumstances that may be of interest to Poland. All workers and soldiers of the Red Army must therefore be on their guard in order not to reveal anything of use to the enemy. Particularly must those persons be carefully watched who show an inclination to gather information concerning the efficiency of the Soviet troops, as well as other military secrets.

HAVE YOU BACK NUMBERS?

You will observe on page 637 a request for copies for our issue of February 7, 1920. We shall be glad to purchase any number of copies of this issue at ten cents per copy.

and violence of the Japanese soldiers. The workers and peasants desert the workshops and villages, and go into the mountains. They go there to escape the horrors which reign in the localities occupied by Japanese troops, preferring death in an unequal struggle to the insults and ill-treatment awaiting them here.

We appeal to you, workers and toilers of the whole world. You helped us defeat international intervention and reaction. And you must help us to end victoriously our revolutionary struggle.

Japan sent her troops to Siberia in alliance with the other interventionists. The governments of all the countries which took part in the intervention are responsible for the horrors which we now have to suffer at the hand of Japan. Demand then of your governments that they shall force Japan by energetic pressure to remove her troops from Siberia, thus saving the populace of the Far East from medieval horrors.

Proletarians and toilers of all countries! Now that the Japanese militarists have actually seized a part of the Far East, when your governments are silent and are thereby helping Japan to oppress the Russian, Korean and Chinese peoples, we appeal to you: the Great Russian Revolution, its world-wide significance, and the millions that have fallen in the battle for a reign of toil and peace call upon you to come to aid.

The interventionists have laid their grasping

hands on parts of revolutionary Russia, and the Russian workers and peasants therefore demand of you strong and courageous intervention.

We do not want war. We need a life of peace and toil. We will ourselves build our life as will fit our needs.

We are striving for a reunion with a united Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and with you, toilers of all countries.

The fate of the Russian Revolution will affect the fate of the world democracy.

We expect an active response to our appeal to the toilers of the world.

INTER-PARTY BUREAU OF ALL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FAR EAST:

1. *Regional Committee of the Far East of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviki).*
2. *Committee of the Vladivostok Organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Mensheviki).*
3. *Primorsk District Committee of the Party of Socialist Revolutionists.*
4. *Vladivostok Committee of the Party of Left Socialists Revolutionists Internationalists.*
5. *Regional Committee of the Far East of the Siberian Alliance of Socialists Revolutionists.*
6. *Vladivostok Committee of the Alliance of Maximalists Socialists Revolutionists.*
7. *United Alliance of Communist Anarchists of Vladivostok.*

Wrangel and Struve

By PAUL LOUIS.

IT WAS believed that the attempts of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich were forever destroyed, but the Russian counter-revolution, which does not have its headquarters in Russia, is indefatigable. It seems as if the *raison d'être* of certain emigres living in Western Europe, preferably at Paris, where they have free access to all the reception rooms, is to organize one assault after another against the Soviets. The latter appear to be none the worse for it and it is possible that the attacks of the consolidated Allied reactions have had about the same effect on the Russian Revolution as did the similar attacks made a century and a quarter ago on the destinies of the French Revolution. Brunswick, Pitt, and Cobourg were the best aids to the Jacobins; their present prototypes are Clemenceau, Winston Churchill, and Pilsudski, not to mention a number of others, for we are faced with an embarrassment of riches here.

At this moment peculiar things are under way in Paris. While Krassin arrives at Whitehall to consult with the Inter-Allied Economic Council, an important emissary of General Wrangel is paying grand and petty visits to the Quai d'Orsay.

This General Wrangel is simply the successor to Denikin, the man whose enterprises have just terminated in disaster. Wrangel has taken refuge in Crimea, where he claims he has gathered 70,000 men. This figure stimulates the imagination, and it is permissible to suppose that the pseudo-com-

mander of the counter-revolutionary pseudo-army of the south has added up fictitious soldiers, as did our colonels of the ancient regime, in order to collect as much money as possible. For Wrangel is eager to extort, as once did Denikin and Kolchak, tens of millions from the Entente.

His emissary is Peter Struve, a renegade to Socialism, a former Marxist who in 1905 affiliated himself with the Cadet Party, of which he became one of the big guns. A friend of Milyukov, he forgot the class struggle in order to advocate Czarist Constitutionalism.

He has thus far never found the big job which he was looking for and which he has ever believed to be his due. He has attached himself to Wrangel, whose prime minister he will become if the latter by any chance should set up a government in the south of Russia.

Wrangel's ambitions seem ridiculous, but it is a cause for grave concern that the French Government should undertake to enter into relations with such a man at the moment when its own agents are conferring with Krassin at London. Such duplicity deserves to be branded as such. But perhaps there are several diplomacies,—as there are several policies, both at Paris and at London, where the disagreement between Lloyd George and Curzon is being daily intensified.—*Le Populaire*, Paris, June 1.